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WHAT TO DO?

A Spicy and Sound Review of the Existing Parties.

Comrade James T. Van Rensselaer Delivered Before Section Los Angeles, Cal., the Below Address in Which the Old Parties, Together with their Several Off-shoots of all Pretences, are Photographed and Contrasted with the Bona Fide Party of Emancipation, the Socialist Labor Party.

I was reading the other day of a man in Los Angeles who got himself so deep into debt that not one of his creditors had been able to see him for months. He must have been the father of the little girl who was given the following example in arithmetic: "Suppose," said her teacher, "that you owed the butcher \$17.20, and the grocer \$15.17, and the coal merchant \$11.15, and the landlord \$57.11, and—?" "Oh," chimed in the little girl, "then we should move." The condition of this family reminds me of the story of Tommy and the Rocking-Horse. Tommy's father had bought him a nice new rocking-horse. Two days later returning home from his office he found the rocking-horse smashed to pieces. "Tommy," said the father, "how wrong of you to break your rocking-horse." Tommy looked first at the remains of the rocking-horse and then at his father, and tearfully remarked: "What's the use of a horse till it's broke?" Now my sympathies are all with the horse, for under present conditions what's the use of a horse, or a man, or for that matter of anything else if he's broke. I was reading a poem the other day, which very beautifully illustrated this view of life. I have taken to reading poetry lately, as next to a Socialist meeting it is one of the few consolations we have left to us under the competitive system. This particular poet is evidently a man of Shakespearean vision, for while picturing the wonderful progress of modern surgery, his description with equal truth applies to other modern conditions. Saye he:

They saved off his arms and his legs, They took out his angular vein. And they deftly extracted his brain. 'Twas a triumph of surgical skill Such as never was heard of till then; 'Twas the subject of lectures before Conventions of medical men. The news of this wonderful thing Was heralded far and wide; But as for the patient, there's nothing to say, Except, of course, that he died.

Does not this sentiment profoundly appeal to the gratitude of the working-man who has so greatly benefited by the spread of education and the development of machinery? In reading those lines I am reminded of the story of the little girl who was asked to write down the various miracles mentioned in the Bible. Amongst others she wrote—"David slew Goliath with a sling and a stone." Her mother seeing this remarked that that could hardly be called a miracle. Whereupon she replied—"But I am sure it was, Mama, for it was a miracle it ever hit him."

Now, good friends, I believe you will agree with me that in this mysterious world the greatest of miracles is that under the present system so many of us are still alive. The question then before us is "What shall we do?" Our church brethren disclaim any urgent desire to tackle the problem, so whether we like it or not we are forced into the field of politics. I am frank to admit that I don't like politics. The present political parties always remind me of the old proverb:

He digged a pit, he digged it deep, He digged it for his brother; And then he digged himself fall in. The pit he digged for t' other.

Viewed from the outside all one sees is a number of men industriously digging pits for other men to fall into, and then falling into the excavations themselves. It is not a pleasant spectacle to contemplate, but as a student of sociology I am of course interested in this digging process. Only the other day I heard an excellent reason for voting the Republican rather than the Democratic ticket. Said an ardent Republican, "You have this advantage in voting for a Republican candidate, you feel confident that it will take \$5,000 to buy him while, with a Democrat, you know, it will need only \$500." The qualitative and quantitative difference between the two therefore is \$4,500. I admit the force of this argument for it only serves as further evidence of the class struggle.

When I think of the Populist party my mind runs back to the old story of a man deserting a sinking ship. This was aptly illustrated out in San Bernardino County a week or so ago. It appears that the bobos struck against working on the rock pile. They preferred to live in confinement and on bread and water twice a day. Their reason for striking was that as they were marched through the street instead of on the sidewalk, they were treated with being "middle-of-the-landers." This for obvious reasons they considered a vile slander. They probably felt themselves placed in the awkward predicament of the two ladies in a Los Angeles trolley car. Some of you may remember the story. The car was on a down-town trip when half-a-dozen people, five women and one man, got aboard. Three of the women and the man found seats together, but the other two went to another part of the car, thereby leaving it doubtful as to whether they were members of the party or not. The man with the three ladies, instead of giving



TRUE ENOUGH IN 1757 — BUT — WONT HOLD GOOD IN 1899.
"A PLOWMAN ON HIS LEGS IS HIGHER THAN A GENTLEMAN ON HIS KNEES" BENJ. FRANKLIN

the exact change, offered a half-dollar in payment of the fares, and the conductor was as much in the dark as ever. To inquire was plainly the only way to solve the mystery. With a polite wave of the hand toward the two women in the further corner, he asked blandly: "Are those ladies implicated?"

We have only the Silver Republicans and that singular band the Christian Socialist left for dissection. As to the former we all know that at the Silver Republican Club on Second street an ungrammatical sign now states: "This here club is closed." Whether placed there by the sheriff or after a properly called meeting of the club, no one seems to know, neither the sheriff nor any of the members themselves. This probably is symbolical of the condition of the party for no one in the heavens above, nor in the waters under the earth has any idea whether the Silver Republican party is in existence or not.

As to the Christian Socialists, they claim to be independent of all things. From the heretical utterances—both theologic and economic—of their high priest, this remarkable independence goes even to all things necessary to salvation either here or hereafter. Its chief expression is found in an independent right to ALWAYS vote the Democratic ticket. Their leading exponent, the most brilliantly muddled man of the Nineteenth Century, says that "Christian Socialism is a will-o'-the-wisp with which to deceive the public." Why a Christian should wish to deceive, and why a Socialist should not care to educate, forms a curious study in mental phenomena. The trouble with this will-o'-the-wisp business is, that whatever the Reverend Apostle may mean by it, the public won't deceive worth a cent. The Christians refuse to have anything to do with the "will," and the Socialists scorn "the wisp." Therefore, having chopped off the head and the tail, all that is left is the 0 which here as elsewhere stand for NIT.

In the matter of Socialists using the old parties to attain their end, I am reminded of a story of the Berlin Fire Department. The Germans in their arrangements for putting out fires closely resemble the Americans in their methods of stamping out economic abuses. They are behind the times. The story is told of a certain fire in Berlin where the hose was too short to reach the flames. One of the firemen noticing this rushed up to the fire chief and said: "Captain, the fire is in the fourth story and our hose will only reach to the second, what shall we do?" "Wait till the fire gets down to the second," replied the captain undismayed. That is the way with most of the so-called reformers. They want to wait until half a man is destroyed before applying a remedy. The truth of the matter is that the old parties are short of hose, while the Socialist Labor party is the only party which has hose long enough to cover the whole economic question.

But there is even a less satisfactory reason for supporting the old parties. Of this I was reminded by a story told in the "War Memoirs of a Chaplain." While before Petersburg, doing siege work in the summer of 1864, the northern soldiers had wormy hardtack served out to them. It was a severe trial to the men. Breaking open the biscuits and finding live worms, they would throw the pieces in the trenches, although the orders were to keep the trenches clean. A brigade officer of the day seeing some of these scraps, called out sharply: "Throw that hardtack out of the trenches." Then, as the men promptly gathered it up, he added: "Don't you know that you're no business to throw hardtack in the trenches?" Out from the injured soldier heart came this reasonable explanation: "We've thrown it out two or three times, sir, but it crawls back." This is about all the satisfaction one gets from working with the old parties. No sooner is a fresh measure of reform pushed through than the evil crawls back. No sooner is a "trust abolished"

TO THE COAL MINERS OF AMERICA.

Comrades:—For the past forty years the cry has gone up repeatedly from the coal mining towns and patches of the nation: "Organize, organize, organize." Nobly have you responded to each succeeding cry, only to find that the echoes of that cry were the dirges of defeat.

Knowing this full well, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance would not dare to come before you with that same siren cry if its members were not supremely conscious of the fact that in the carrying out of its principles alone can the miners and all other workers secure the sweets of victory instead of the bitters of defeat. Believing this, for reasons that we will now set forth, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance holds again the banner of revolt, determined to continue its agitation until every coal miner in the land from Pennsylvania to Oregon is marshalled beneath its folds, and every ignoble Labor Fakir who has fattened on the miners' misery is driven from Labor's Camp into the capitalist camp where they belong.

For the better understanding of the principles, methods and tactics of the S. T. & L. A. or New Trades Unionism, let us briefly review the conditions our organization must grapple with in the coal mining districts.

1st. Each time the miners have run up the standard of defiance for a fight with the operators, their standard has been trampled in the mire of defeat.

2nd. Each succeeding year has found the conditions of the miner growing steadily worse, until at present they stagger under a burden of misery far heavier than is borne by any other branch of the working class.

3rd. Every act of legislation, without exception, passed "in the interest of the coal miner" has—if it hurt the operators—been declared unconstitutional by the Courts that the Hannas and Rands and other large operators control.

4th. In the pluck-me-store the miners are cheated, their wives insulted, and red-hand robbery stalks supreme.

5th. The pure and simple British trades union form of organization that the miners have looked to for assistance is organized on principles that were all right 100 years ago, but are all wrong now, hence, organized on false principles, the miners were unknowingly organized for their own slaughter; and are led, wherever so organized, by a band of Labor Skates who are either ignoramuses or knaves; this applies with particular strength to Hatchford, Dolan, Warner, McKay, Mitchell, McBride, and Lewis, etc., the men in control of the miners' organizations to-day. Let us say right here that we Socialists are often charged with being "abusive," whereas we but call things by their right names. He who reads this call to a conclusion will find sufficient facts set forth to brand each United Mine Workers' leader as a Judas to the miner; a wretch, who grows fat as the miner grows lean; who sings to an accompaniment of the miner's tears.

6th. Last, and most important of all, the condition that the S. T. & L. A. has to grapple with is the merchandise character of the miners' labor power. That is to say, the miner sells his labor power in the labor market the same as all other merchandise is sold—as a coal that he mines is sold—i. e., according to the law of supply and demand. The supply of coal miners is to-day enormous (400,000), the demand for coal miners is small (200,000). Hence the price of the coal miners' labor power, which is his wages, is small, and is growing smaller all the time. The organization that can grapple with that last condition is the one that can put hope in the hearts, fire in the breasts, and light in the eyes of the miner. And of such is the S. T. & L. A.

Let us review these conditions, and in doing so we shall take the last one first.

The tiny smoky lamp on the front of the miner's cap is all sufficient to show him the cracks in the coal, the clay veins, the dead work, and the danger spots of his "place." There is another tiny lamp burning with a still smaller flame beneath the miner's cap, that is the lamp of reason, lit with the oil of intelligence, and the wick of study. Set this lamp to work in the various dark places of your life, Brother Miner, until you reach that spot marked LABOR MARKET. There you will see two miners looking for one job. With this result: STARVATION WAGES. Keep that lamp twined on that spot and inquire when or how can the day dawn that will show one miner looking for one job, for then he shall have full and plenty. With two men looking for one job he has starvation. Turn then that lamp of reason on the bloated faces of your capitalist politicians and labor skates and say: "Official figures show me that there are two miners for one job, the Sullivan puncher and the Link belt machines are displacing miners so rapidly that there will soon be three men for one job. This will drive my wages still lower, with greater hunger and misery for me and my loved ones. Tell me, then, how we can have that condition of affairs where there will be one man for one job with plenty for every miner in the land." He, the labor fakir or politician, can make but one reply, if he desires to continue to earn his blood money, and that reply is this: "The law of supply and demand will settle matters. When the miners' Labor Market becomes glutted the surplus miners will seek other fields. They will go to the cities and the farms; thus the supply of miners will come down, the demand will go up. Things will right themselves so."

The Politician and Labor Fakir Hatchford, who has climbed into his \$3,000 position on the quivering backs of his tortured class, and whose duty it was to educate them, but who received his job for keeping them ignorant. He, Hatchford, Dolan, Warner, McKay, Lewis, Mitchell, or any other fakir, when he makes that answer—the only answer upholders of the capitalist system can make, mark you, Brother Miner—you can reply to him in the words of Horace Greeley: "You lie, you villain, you lie, and you know it."

To prove they lie point out the printers in the cities made tramps of by the Mergenthaler Linotype setting machine. Point to New England and the South, where the textile operatives are driven out of their jobs by the Roney and the Northrup loom. Then gaze on the wind-swept prairies of the West and listen to the tramp, tramp, tramp of the thousands of tramps made so by the introduction of the Marsh harvester and self-reaper and binder on the great bonanza farms; and so on with a thousand other labor displacing machines. Tell these labor skates next that the day is lost when a new trust is not born, a trust that shuts down factories, fires workers, drummers, and advertising agents, thus glutting the labor market still more. Then point out that into every factory is being introduced the specialization or subdivision of labor that displaces thousands more. Then tell them the conclusion to be drawn from this state of affairs is, THAT INSTEAD OF THE MINERS GOING TO THE CITIES AND FARMS, THE CITY AND FARM WORKERS ARE GOING TO THE MINES. Then ask yourself what this means. It means that when you go to the mine at the break of day and find no cars and no work, and are thus compelled to tramp home disconsolate to a hotel with an empty cupboard, and crying children, that such will be your lot in the future. It means that strikes with all their

horrors, hunger, Hazleton camps, company houses, pluck-me-stores, unfair screens, etc., etc., are wedged into your daily life to stay. It means more tears for your wife, more rags for your children, more crusts and less meat. All this while that condition of the labor market lasts, as it is bound to last so long as the capitalist system continues.

Vote it down and out. Throw down your Fakirs that stand for it!

Turn the lamp anew, you poor wage slave of the mine, and, if your eyes are not blinded through the stygian darkness of pure and simplemindedness, what do you read in the great white light of Socialism? This: That man once lived in his forest cave, in a state of cannibalism, and killed his brother with a stone or club. That he marched from the cave to the patriarchal family, thence to the Grecian and Roman Republics, thence to Feudalism, thence to capitalism, that each of these stages of society carried within it germs of its own destruction, and hence had to pass away to be succeeded by another. That capitalism is ready to pass away, but will not go until the class that will alone benefit by its death shall arise in all the grandeur of its strength and bid it go. That class is our class. Our kindly, guileless, long suffering class, that has lived in all these different societies and will continue to live, because it is the foundation of society, inasmuch as it is the producer of ALL WEALTH, and as such has that fact forever stamped upon its brow.

Understanding this, you empoverished miner, understand this greater truth: All classes who secured freedom and power, those classes themselves had to strike the blow; had themselves to capture the public power, and then, and not until then, could they march brightly through the laurel groves of success with the songs of victory ringing in their ears, with the fruits of that victory in their hands, radiant with the promises of the golden future. So it was when under Cromwell the growing capitalist class seized the political power in the Commons; so, again, was it with the capitalist class in France when they captured the political power in the National Assembly; so, again, in America when our own revolutionary forefathers captured the political power in the Continental Congress. Even so will it be in our own time, when, realizing that just as one pound of tough meat, sautéed sugar, or a pair of proper shoes could not be sold in the pluck-me-store were it not for the political power that the coal mine operator possesses; realizing that not one rifle could be loaded and fired at Pana, Virden or Hazleton were it not that the workers stupidly put the capitalist behind the guns with themselves and their little ones in front of the muzzles of the guns; realizing, in short, that just as the capitalist's economic power and his political power are inseparable, so is the miner's economic power and his political power inseparable. Trim that lamp again, Mr. Miner, and read this message until it burns you heart and brain: WAGES AND POLITICS ARE INSEPARABLE QUESTIONS.

This great truth once grasped, you will see that you must organize with politics in your union, but that politics must be the politics of YOUR class. It must be the politics that will send your representatives to Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, Springfield in Illinois, Columbus in Ohio, and above all to Washington, to demand that, inasmuch as the conditions of the labor market keeps you bound to your coal mining village or patch as firmly as was the gally slave to the oar, with the company store tied around your neck, to lead lives of misery without one ray of hope while the system of capitalism lasts; that, inasmuch as nothing short of the overthrow of capitalism will right this condition of affairs, therefore you demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and the substitution of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which the miners shall receive the full value of all they produce instead of one-fifth as at present; a Common-

TURNING SCREWS.

20 out of 32 Thousand Cigar Firms to be Squeezed out.

Capitalist Legislation Takes a Hand in the Evolution of Capitalist Concentration—An Internal Revenue Decision that Counteracts the Simplicity of the Tools Used in the Production of Cigars, and thus Moves Down the Small Fellows, Clearing the Field for Capital.

BOSTON, Mass., Feb. 17.—The following decision has been rendered by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue:

In view of section 69 of the act of August 28, 1894, and section 3,234, Revised Statutes, as amended, dealers in leaf tobacco will not be permitted to sell leaf tobacco in quantities less than a hoghead, case or bale. Neither will they be permitted to sell directly to consumers, and they will be required to confine their sales to three classes of purchasers, namely: 1st, to other duly registered dealers in leaf tobacco; 2nd, to duly registered manufacturers of tobacco, snuff or cigars; 3rd, to persons who purchase leaf tobacco in packages for export. Dealers in leaf tobacco selling to other persons, or in any manner than as above, will be regarded as manufacturers of tobacco, and all tobacco so sold by them will be regarded as manufactured tobacco.

This action which applies to the Revenue law of 1894 compels leaf tobacco dealers who formerly sold goods to small manufacturers in lots of one, ten or one hundred pounds, to sell their goods in original packages. Dealers desiring to sell goods in small quantities will have to qualify as manufacturers and their sales will be regarded in the light of manufactured tobacco, they will have to pay a tax of 12 cents a pound which in some cases is as much as the tobacco has been sold for.

A cigarmaker who, if he had a few private customers, when out of employment could start up in business for himself with ten dollars will now have to purchase a bale of Sumatra wrappers, which cost \$700; a bale of Havana fillers, \$150; a case of binders, \$75; which makes a total of \$925 and does not include tools, boxes, revenue stamps, etc. It is safe to say that if this decision is enforced 20,000 out of the 32,000 cigar manufacturers in the United States will be forced to the wall, it is stated on good authority that this law will affect 100,000 persons employed in the cigar and tobacco industry.

In the past it has been difficult to centralize the cigar industry in the hands of a few persons owing to the simplicity of the tools used in the production of cigars and the ability to buy tobacco in small quantities. But with the aid of the governmental forces which the tobacco capitalists, as well as all others know how to utilize, as fore-shadowed by this Internal Revenue decision, we may in the near future hear of the formation of a gigantic cigar trust in the United States.

A consideration of the action of the economic law, as it regards capitalists in the foregoing, and the action of economic law in its effect upon wage workers in the cigar industry, brings out some interesting if not startling disclosures.

The production of cigars during 1897 and 1898 was as follows:

1898	4,664,711,602
1897	4,173,581,830
Increase	401,129,772

This is an increase of about one-half billion over 1897. The superficial observer would say looking at this figures that "the cigarmakers of the United States had passed a prosperous year"; whereas they have failed to maintain their scale of wages at some points and at others the enforcement of new and exacting shop rules prove a decline in both wages and conditions. The Cigar Makers' International Union have lost strikes in Carl Uppman's, the LARGEST UNION CIGAR FACTORY IN THE UNITED STATES; Ottensbros & Co.; Bondy & Lederer, all of New York City; at Canton, Ill., and other points throughout the country during the past year.

The 1,500 cigarmakers of Boston who are organized in Union No. 97 have been compelled to submit to rules the enforcement of which, while they still maintain their scale of \$15 per thousand, has resulted in a reduction of from \$1 to \$3 per week. An increase in the production of any or all commodities does not necessarily mean an increase in the wealth of the working class become possessed of; but contrariwise at this stage of industrial development. Labor power is a merchandise and is sold subject to the law of wages and merchandise, which declares that the working class shall receive enough of the value they produce to buy the necessities of life; as with merchandise, so with labor power, it is sold at its cost of reproduction.

The more the workers work the more they increase the wealth of those they work for; the more they increase their employers' wealth, the more they increase the capital their employer controls: It is not more work that increases the workers' wealth; more work leads to no work; and no work or more work decreases the workers' share of wealth and increases poverty, degradation and crime, this is the law of capitalism.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN, Member of Cigarmakers' Union No. 97.

H. Weasling lectures this evening, Feb. 26, on "Charity," at 140th street and Third avenue (34th and 35th A. D.), this city.

(Continued on page 3.)

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THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
 In 1890 13,331
 In 1892 (Presidential) 13,157
 In 1894 33,133
 In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
 In 1898 82,204

Administration after administration and party after party have perished in their desperate attempts to fit the youthful colonial garments, made by our Fathers after a by-gone fashion, over the expanded limits and generous outline of a matured nation. There are patches here and there; there are grievous rents and holes here and there; there are ludicrous and painful exposures of growing limbs everywhere; and the party in power and the party out of power can do nothing but mend and patch, and revamp and cleanse and scour, and occasionally, in the wilderness of despair, suggest even the cutting off the rebellious limbs that persist in growing beyond the swaddling clothes of infancy.

BRET HARTE.

PICTORIAL.

Proceedings have been set on foot by the Park Department of this city against the Manhattan or Gould Elevated railroads. It matters not to us what the motives may be; the only question is, Are the charges true? That they are true every resident of New York knows to his sorrow. Nor does it matter to us that the "reform" activity, Tammany is just now ablaze with against a nuisance, is sure to abate; there are too many Manhattan stockholders in Tammany itself; moreover the capitalist interests that animate the "Tammany Syndicate" will not, can not afford to, hostile the "Gould Syndicate" beyond a certain limited point. What is of importance is to take the picture of the situation.

It is barely two weeks ago that the Federal Senate solemnly placed at the feet of Helen Gould "the thanks of the Nation" for her "generosity" during the war. Now there comes official information as to the quarry from which the generosity was dug. The report of the Park Department attests to the fact that, without paying a cent to the city for the public property used by the Manhattan Company, one of the city parks is being blighted by the company, and not only that, but the Health Department adds that "the droppings of water and oil from the structure are a nuisance and annoyance to pedestrians; and the pools which gather beneath the tracks are a menace to the public health."

We have here an all around pictorial reproduction of present society. The Manhattan but symbolizes the capitalist system. Capitalism gathers everywhere beneath it pools that are a menace to society, and out of the exhalations of such pools the glistening gold is produced that the Social Nuisance of to-day indulges in "generosity" and buys the "Nation's" thanks with.

Tear it down!

"SELF-HELP."

There was recently a certain Congressional investigation held, a portion of whose report should be clipped by the Socialist agitator, and carried about with him. He will find frequent occasion to use it when, at meetings, some innocent, or otherwise, upholder of capitalism objects to Socialism on the ground of its destroying individuality, whereas Capitalism "fosters self-help" and "spurns paternalism." The passage in question explains the nature of capitalist self-help:—It means helping oneself to other people's property by the aid of the capitalist Government.

Two, seemingly independent Nicaragua Canal Companies had suddenly sprung up and demanded Government aid, the one was called the Maritime Canal Company, the other the "Construction Company." The one was a tender to the other. As one concern, the people at the bottom and back of both could not have as a good a chance in their buccaneer game; accordingly, they gave themselves two distinct names;—and proceeded to do "business." At the investigation, one Hitchcock, the President of the "Maritime Canal Company," being on the rack, certain valuable facts were elicited. Here is the passage verbatim:

Mr. Hitchcock—The fourth article of my last report shows that since the reorganization 10,146 shares have been subscribed for at par, amounting to \$1,014,600, of which \$2,029,200 has been paid into the treasury.

Mr. Mann—On what basis was that done? What was the stock valued at; what were the bonds valued at in their transfer to the construction company?

Mr. Hitchcock—They were to receive \$150,000,000 of bonds and \$70,000,000 of stock for the completion of the work;—practically \$220,000,000 of securities—and, we would say, in round numbers, it would cost \$100,000,000 to build the canal, and \$220,000,000 in stock and bonds might bring more than that.

Mr. Mann—That is, you were giving them stock and bonds than double in amount of the cost in cash?

Mr. Hitchcock—We were.

Mr. Mann—What would the bonds and stock sell for; would they sell for fifty cents on a dollar?

Mr. Hitchcock—Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. Hepburn—I would like to ask if the persons composing the construction company were the same persons that composed the Maritime Canal Company?

Mr. Hitchcock—I don't know all the members of the construction company, but many gentlemen connected with it were stockholders in that company.

Mr. Hepburn—A majority of them were, at least?

Mr. Hitchcock—Yes, the list of stockholders of the Maritime Canal Company is something like this, and embraces many of the representative men of the country.

Mr. Corliss—Was there a single member of the construction company that was not a member of the Maritime Canal Company?

Mr. Hitchcock—My impression is that there were quite a number, but I could not say.

The "self-help" that is practised in capitalism is the self-help of the green goods and saw-dust sharper; the sacredness of its property means the sacredness of swindle; and its aversion to paternalism is only a pretence for the most vicious of paternalisms—step-fatherism.

A PARALLEL.

Mayor Jones of Toledo, O., whom Croker and other Democratic monopolists are grooming for the Presidential nomination, and who realizes he is at the end of his tether in the Republican party, has published a statement to the people of his city asking a re-nomination and election as Mayor. He says:

The golden rule is my guide. I believe in the shorter work day as the most practicable step now possible looking to the solution of the problem of problems—the problem of the unemployed. The eight-hour day should at once be adopted and rigidly adhered to on all public work. It is wiser, more human, and cheaper to provide a plan to let men work either as tramp or beggar, or dependents on our over-worked charities. I have been the Mayor for all the people, high and low, rich and poor, black and white, employed and unemployed. My experience in the office has served to strengthen every conviction to which I have ever given expression regarding the brotherhood of all men.

This "golden rule" Mayor, with his "brotherhood of all men" and his cheap talk about labor somehow or other forebodingly remind one of Mr. W. R. Hearst, proprietor of the New York "Journal," who likewise is being groomed, in this case by himself alone, for the Democratic nomination for President.

Both Jones and Hearst are labor skippers—Hearst through his paper, Jones through his factory. Jones believes in the "brotherhood of all men" and yet lives on nothing else but what he fleeces from his Brother Labor in his shoe factory; Hearst believes in "anti-trust" while he is a trust man himself bursting with trust stock and intent upon promoting trusts. The earnings of Hearst's poor newsboys and other employees are savagely reduced—by his factotum, while he is considered innocent of the wrong notwithstanding his silence in the matter; the earnings of Jones's employees are reduced—by his foreman, while he looks innocently on and profits thereby. Hearst causes his paper to "bleed for the woes inflicted upon Labor"—by others, while, beginning with his own paper, he is everywhere fleecing labor; Jones orates about the necessity of the rigid enforcement of a shorter work-day—not in his own shop, where, if he wanted to, the thing could be done, but in the public works, where his own pocket would not suffer, and where enough labor can not, under capitalism, be employed to absorb the army of the unemployed, and thus remove the "contentment" among his wage slaves.

The only difference between the two lies in their purses, and, as a result of that, in some of their sub-methods: Jones, not having several hundred thousand dollars' income a year, can not create the large number of sycophants that Hearst creates around him by judiciously giving some waiters in certain restaurants \$1-bills to pay for a cup of coffee; and telling the waiter to keep the change; but what Jones can't do with money—an article at which Hearst has the best of him, he seeks to do with rhetoric—an article at which he has the best of Hearst.

Strange figures have appeared above the political horizon of American politics; there are stranger ones grooming.

A. S. Brown will lecture on "Socialism and the Socialist Labor party" on Wednesday, March 1, 8 p. m., at 15 McDougal street, Brooklyn.

M. Hilquit will lecture next Friday evening, March 3, on "Revolution" at 209 East Broadway (4th A. D.), this city.

B. Feigenbaum will lecture next Tuesday evening, the 28th instant, at 65 Columbia street (12th A. D.), this city.

In order to accommodate comrades who wish to subscribe to two or more of the party's organs, we have made arrangements for reduced rates as follows: THE PEOPLE (50c) and the "Tocsin" (50c) both for 80c; a year: THE PEOPLE and the "Class Struggle" ("New Charter") (50c) both for 80c; a year: or all three (at regular rates \$1.50) for \$1.20 a year.

These offers will remain in force until withdrawn by notice in these columns.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

It is evident that on the Pacific Slope, as well as here on the Atlantic, Socialists can not too often re-assert their position. One of the points on which Socialism is least understood is that of the "trust." So little is it understood that nothing is more common than to have a man believe that the "reformers" surely want Socialism because they want "to smash the trust"; and there is in this matter the further danger that a lot of scheming capitalists, themselves bursting with trust stock, utilize the popular error about "trusts," declare themselves "against the trust," pose as "Socialists" and thus seek to sail into public office. In view of this the explanation given by the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" is opportune everywhere:

Socialists do not object to the Trust, but they decidedly object to the present ownership thereof. Socialists demand a Trust that shall comprise ALL of the means of production and distribution, to be owned by ALL the people, and operated for the benefit of ALL the people, instead of for the enrichment and aggrandizement of the FEW. Is that clear?

After many years of experimenting, the Australian comrades have struck the right road. This welcome fact appears from a New Year Card issued by the Newcastle and Sydney, Australia, "People and Collectivist," from which the below are the closing passages:

Our work during the coming year promises to be heavy, and every one in sympathy with our aims and aspirations, and willing to assist us on the lines we have laid down, will find work to do. Our movement must be built up on clear-cut class lines. There can be no compromise between fleecer and fleeced; there are only two classes in every community—they who work, and they who rob the workers; and so long as a minority rule allows everyone who believes in robbery, shops, money, etc., they own the rest of the community, who produce the whole of the wealth. Do you believe in a class-union, a recognition of these facts? If so, join the A. S. L. at Sydney, Newcastle, Leichhardt, or Newcastle. We don't want the Parliamentary aspirant, merely, for the trouble of being in the House of Representatives, but we want the middle class man who is only prepared to go a "moderate distance," and will only come in just to give "tone" to the movement. This class is barred; but everyone who believes in standing on the foundation we have laid down, and is prepared to fight with grit and determination to build up the Socialist State, will be welcome from whatever section of society he or she may come. We don't ask the ignorant and brutalized among the workers to come in, until they can be persuaded to understand the class-union idea. The workers, as a whole, will not support Socialism very enthusiastically just now. Why? Because they do not understand it. It has never been preached to them before. N. S. W. as at present—consequently all who take the work up must expect a long period of drudgery; but we will set out for that. Let us first, though, make sure of ourselves.

The Tacoma, Wash., "Spirit of '76" recommends:

Free text books and employment for all idle citizens would be a good municipal reform for not alone the Socialist Labor party of Tacoma, but all over the land as well.

The "Spirit of '76" evidently does not know two things:

1st. That the Socialist Labor party has, by order of its last National Convention, drafted and adopted a municipal programme, and that programme or platform is a good deal more comprehensive than the two-planked one therein proposed;

2nd. That, plauted upon extensive experience, the Socialist Labor party knows that a complete platform, dealing with basic principles, is the only sort of platform around and upon which the revolutionary army can build and encamp, and from which it can make any progress.

"El Nueva Ideal" (The New Ideal), published in Havana, Cuba, is a new visitor that has turned up among our exchanges. In spots it sounds well; on the whole, though, it leaves one in the dark as to whether it enters the field equipped with the ripe experience of the past. There is nothing to indicate whether it has learned the lesson that the "propaganda of deed" is but a "propaganda of self-destruction"; nothing to indicate whether it has fathomed or not the evolution of the class-unconscious union; nothing to show whether it has a proper apprehension of the educational and revolutionary force there is in the ballot. We shall watch it with great interest, and see whether Puerto Rico is to go ahead of Cuba in the Labor Movement.

The fakirism of the leaders of the Mariboro shoe strikers commences to be a stench in the public nostrils. First, these fakirs utilize the indignation of the strikers by encouraging them to support the Democratic municipal candidates, and thus manage to secure (for what consideration?) the election of a capitalist Mayor; and now it turns out that these fakirs have agreed to a remarkable procedure against the strikers. Upon this latest development the below "agreement" sheds much light, it being the ground on which a temporary injunction was issued against the strikers:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
 In Equity.
 Rice & Hutchins, Incorporated, vs. Mariboro Shoe Company, et al.
 S. H. Howe Shoe Company vs. Same; John A. Frye vs. J. H. Murray et al.
 Agreement of Parties.—It is agreed by the parties to the above entitled suits that until the further order of the court a temporary injunction may issue, restraining the defendants and each of them, their agents and attorneys, from interfering by acts of violence or intimidation with the business of the plaintiffs or their employees. The defendants, however, disclaim any acts of violence or intimidation in the past, or any intention to commit such acts in the future, and enter into this injunction in order to try the issues presented by the bill of complaint fully at a hearing on the merits at some future time, and this agreement is not to be considered or treated as any admission of illegal conduct on the part of the defendants, or any of them.

(Signed)
 FRANCIS P. CURHAN, Attorney for respondents.
 HURLBURT, JONES & CO., Attorneys for plaintiffs.
 Let an Injunction issue, in accordance with the above agreement.
 (Signed) JOHN HAMMOND, Judge Supreme Court.

NEW LABOR DISPLACER.

A mechanical process for feeding and threading the shuttle of a cotton loom has been invented in Atlanta, Ga. It is an invention that will take the place of all other self-feeding and threading shuttles that have, recently been put on the market in the North.

The inventor of the new shuttle is J. C. Bryan, a mechanic of humble means, who over a year ago, after explaining his plans to the head of the Exposition Cotton Mills, was given one of the looms in the factory on which to make his private experiments.

Although a large number of accidents happened to the invention during the past year the inventor kept steadily to the work with a conviction that his plan was a thoroughly feasible one, and as a result of his hard labor the new self-feeding and self-threading shuttle stands completed and ready for public inspection.

The results accomplished from experiments at the Exposition Mills have been striven for by mechanics for past years all over the country. Presidents of mills have encouraged prominent inventors to undertake the work of improving the old shuttle so that it could be made self-threading.

It has long been realized that if such a machine could be put on the market it would be a labor-saving step and at the same time increase the weekly capacity of the looms to a great extent. The loss occasioned by the constant stopping and threading of the shuttles, which if obviated by the new mechanical process, would, it is estimated, amount to one length more of cloth on every loom in a week and in a mill of 15,000 looms the extra capacity of 15,000 lengths of cloth would increase the business to a large extent in the year.

In addition to the increased capacity of the looms with the new shuttles, the simple invention means that LESS LABOR WILL BE REQUIRED IN ATTENDING THE LOOMS. To every one hundred looms in the larger factories of the country, twenty men are required to feed and thread the shuttles and attend to other parts of the loom. With the necessity for threading the shuttles gone, five men can attend one hundred looms, or one-fourth the amount of labor required at present.

What this means to the cotton industry of the country cannot be estimated until the new shuttle is put generally in active operation, but it is certain to affect the production of the white staple from the time it leaves the field in the bag of the cotton picker until it comes out of the dyeing house after having been made into cloth.

As the shuttle flies backward and forward, the bobbin in the shuttle becomes quickly exhausted and it is necessary to stop the loom in order to put in another bobbin, thus losing considerable time and requiring the expenditure of labor that might otherwise be done away with. By a mechanical process the invention, which is said to be different from other inventions on this line, puts in a new bobbin with thread while the loom is in full operation. The motion of the loom is a continuous one.

The great advantage of the self-threading shuttle is that it can be adapted to any loom in use, whereas other inventions of the kind have been made specifically for particular kind of loom and cannot be used on all.

The novel and economic invention is now on exhibition at the Exposition Cotton Mills, and it is understood that already one large mill has ordered, or is preparing to order in the next few days 1,500 self-feeding shuttles of the kind to be put on the market.

The inventor of the new shuttle is a man of very moderate means and has recently been connected with the Exposition Cotton Mills. The only other member of his family is his wife, also an employe of the factory, who has rendered her husband material assistance in perfecting the shuttle to which he has devoted his entire attention.

The attention of the Manufacturers' Association has just been directed to the improvement and it is probable that in the near future the association will give the invention a most careful inspection.

That much for the merits of the invention. Now for the results that will come from it.

First as to the inventor himself. His chances of profiting by his genius are almost nil. It is the style now-a-days to boldly and boldly steal inventors' inventions. As a rule, and it is so in this case, inventors are poor. Without capital they can not put their inventions on the market; without capital they can not fight the robber capitalist who infringes their patent. Only quite recently a Pennsylvania Appellate Court, it was in the case of Dempsey, decided that it would be unjust to decide in favor of Dempsey, a discoverer of some coloring process, because then his employers would be at his mercy, compelled to pay him whatever wages he demanded; upon which the employers, who had stolen Dempsey's books containing his secret notes, were allowed to retain possession. The inventor of the new shuttle has a dark future before him.

Next as to the working class. What songs of joy would not rend the air if a shuttle is invented whereby one-fourth the labor, now required, could be dispensed with; where, accordingly, the workers' time of toil could be lessened by that much! Yet no such cries of joy are heard or will be heard. On the contrary. The workers' time will not be reduced; the increased productivity of his work will not fall to him. He will continue in misery; the displaced labor will press upon him and still more drag him down; only the idle capitalist will profit. Thus both workers and inventor are only prospective sufferers.

Such is the way of things under a social system in which the tool of production is the property of private hands; such is the state of things that the Socialist Labor party has set its face to destroy.

And it will.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Uncle Sam—You seem to be in a great hurry; where are you going?

Brother Jonathan—I am going to my union. I am a little behind. I want to square up and withdraw.

U. S.—Withdraw?

B. J.—Yes. What's the use in being in a union? Every sensible man should get out and save his money.

U. S.—Are you gone daft?

B. J.—No. I'm grown wise. I have noticed that the strike and the boycott are played out. They were good enough when the bosses were cockroach bosses. But just as soon as the bosses combine into larger concerns we might as well try to spit at the moon as to beat them with the boycott or the strike. They'll wallop us every time. And that's what's happening now. I haven't money to throw away.

U. S.—And for that reason you would have the unions disbanded?

B. J.—For that and for other reasons.

U. S.—Which other?

B. J.—As the union cannot win any more with its old and only weapons, it falls into the hands of fakirs who trade upon it, and sell it out, and use it as a footstool to step on and advertise themselves to the politicians.

U. S.—Have you any other reasons?

B. J.—No. Are they not enough?

U. S.—Decidedly not.

B. J.—What sense is there in paying dues to keep a fakir in a job?

U. S.—In the first place, as far as the fakir question is concerned, the usefulness or uselessness of unionism cannot be settled by it. The fakir is not a fixture. He can be snuffed out. And if the worse were to come to the worse, if the fakir has entrenched himself in such a way, as the so-called officers of the now extinct K. of L. have done, that they can use their own dues to beat you down and flourish in fakirism, you can pull out the bulk of the intelligent men, leave the fakirs to starve high and dry, and start a good, bona fide union. I admit that a thing controlled by fakirs will do labor no good, and will even hurt the workers; and that, even if such a thing dignifies itself with the name of "union," it should be smashed.

B. J.—And suppose you do, and build up a bona fide, honest organization, what good will that do? The boycott and the strike are played out.

U. S.—Suppose they are; let's leave that part of the question aside for the present. Do you imagine that the organization of labor by trades has no other good purpose?

B. J.—None that I can see.

U. S.—You have heard of a man called Bismarck, haven't you?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Pretty powerful man he was at one time, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Well, powerful though he was, and willing and anxious to boot, to squelch the Socialist movement in Germany and hang every Socialist delegate, did he do that?

B. J.—What, hang them?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—No, he didn't.

U. S.—Why, being so powerful?

B. J.—Guess he didn't dare to.

U. S.—That's just it. Even the most powerful and the most willing to do a wrong fell to-day curbed by public opinion. Now, then, vicious though a boss may be, and anxious to do a wrong to one of his workmen, he will feel curbed in his desire if he knows that his men are organized, that they will all resent his action, strike and thereby make public his act. Is that clear?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Thus organization can do some good as a shield, provided, of course, it is in the hands of honest and intelligent leaders, not fakirs.

B. J.—Well, would that alone be worth the dues we pay and the time we spend on the union?

U. S.—I think so. But that is not all. The union answers other good purposes. Are you so sure that the working class won't have to fight physically for their rights? Are you quite sure that the capitalists, ousted at the ballot box by the workers, will not do what the slave holders of the South did—throw to the wind their pretences of being law-abiding, and take up arms to thwart the fiat of the suffrage?

B. J.—That's quite so. But anyhow, strikes and boycotts must be abandoned.

U. S.—Yes and no. Upon this subject let me read a passage from the proclamation issued by the New Trade Unionist national organization of the country—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. (Producing the paper and Alliance.) It is this:

"The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada stands upon the basis of facts, and therefore promises nothing impossible. It knows that the final victory it promises is possible, aye, is assured. IN THE MEANTIME, WHILE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM LASTS, WE AIM TO USE THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH WE HAVE ESTABLISHED AND WILL EXTEND, TO WRING SUCH TEMPORARY ADVANTAGES FROM THE CAPITALISTS AS CONDI-

TIONS WILL ALLOW. WE DO NOT SAY THAT THE WORKERS MUST NOT STRIKE OR BOYCOTT. WE KNOW THAT OFTEN THE BRUTALITY OF CAPITAL DRIVES THE WORKERS TO DESPAIR. WE KNOW THAT AT SOME TIMES THE CAPITALISTS ARE SO SITUATED AS TO AFFORD A CHANCE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONTEST. On all such occasions we will fight with more vigor and persistence than the old-style organizations ever could, because our ranks are held together by the true spirit of solidarity which grows out of the consciousness of the common interest of all wage workers in the overthrow of capitalist class rule. Whether these unavoidable contests are carried to victorious results, depends largely upon economic conditions which we cannot control; we need not promise. Defeats will not disconcert us, because these contests will be considered by us merely as skirmishes preceding the great battle of emancipation. But this we can safely promise, that our warfare will not only be more effective than that of the old-style labor organization, but it is the only industrial policy that can bring results. While the old-style organizations, disgraced by corrupt leadership, weakened by ignorance of the right and might of the working class, demoralized by every failure in their blind conflicts with capital, become objects of contempt for friend and foe alike, the determined phalanxes of our New Trade Unionism, marching boldly upon the citadel of capitalism (its control of the industrial and political machinery), will earn the confidence of the workers and inspire the capitalists with fear, if not with respect. While the old-style organizations, weighed down by the hopelessness of their course, cannot be kept in fighting trim for even those opportunities that business conditions sometimes offer for successful economic struggles against capital our army, trained for a fight to the finish, and drawing from our growing success at the ballot box ever new assurance of final triumph, will be ever ready for timely aggression and necessary defense. While the old-style organization degraded to the function of voting cattle for the capitalist parties, gain nothing but to be kicked with injunctions, clubs and bayonets into greater helplessness, our New Trade Unionism will derive from every advance made in the political class struggle, material assistance for the economic efforts, following the example of our fellow workers in France, when Socialist representatives vote large contributions in the municipal councils, plead the cause of labor in the halls of parliament and support it with their prestige of the field of battle whenever a strike occurs."

B. J.—Guess I'll stay in.

U. S.—By all means. You were judging the union by its impotence when in the hands of fakirs. There all effort is pure waste. In the properly conducted union, the union that moves hand in hand with the S. L. P., even the weapons of the strike and boycott do serve some good purpose; and such a union is a valuable weapon of offence and defence to the workers. Bring your fellow craftsmen into it. Get others to do likewise. The Socialist fights both along the economic and the political line.

Rejoice!

(Written for THE PEOPLE by George Bortroya, Lawrence, Mass.)

Rejoice, ye Socialists, rejoice,
 Lift up your hearts, lift up your voice;
 Success is near, our generous cause attains,
 And conflict still in triumph ends.

In vain our system's num'rous foes
 Its glorious end like ours expose;
 As shades from light they shrink away
 And added converts bless the day.

Rejoice, our principles are proved;
 Rejoice, our firm rock they stand unmoved;
 Our cause from contest gathers force,
 And opposition speeds its course.

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